

Peace News

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'GOLDEN RULE'

to sail again

—600 Walkers for Peace told

THE "Golden Rule," 30 ft. H-protest ketch, was to sail again on Wednesday noon on its voyage to the US Pacific nuclear testing grounds near Eniwetok, Lawrence Scott, Co-ordinator of Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, cabled PN Tuesday afternoon.

The crew had previously been sentenced for "criminal contempt of court."

This announcement was made to 600 Walkers for Peace at a Sunday rally in Washington, DC. It was announced that the crew had on Saturday cabled President Eisenhower of their intention.

Jim Peck has joined the crew, and William Huntington has remained behind as captain of a possible further protest voyage.

The Walkers for Peace set out from Wilmington, Delaware, on May 24, and Winchester, Virginia, on May 26.

SACKED

after anti-Bomb speech

From our Frankfurt Correspondent

DR. ROBERT JUNGK, author of "Brighter than a Thousand Suns," has been dismissed from his post on the reportage staff of the Swiss magazine "Weltwoche" following an outspoken speech against nuclear weapons in this city.

"In Hiroshima," he said, "I have seen people without eyes. I saw people who yesterday were still healthy, suddenly lay down and cough blood... people not allowed to stay in hospitals who have to hide away from the public."

"Their number is still extremely high: 60,000 men at present suffering, a further 70,000 who will be affected by after-effects of the bomb in the next few years."

"I read that (West German) Defence Minister Strauss made a trip to the rocket centre at Huntsville. Why did he not make a trip to Hiroshima?"

"Travel to Hiroshima and see what happened there. This evil must never be repeated. Never!"

Extracts from Dr. Jungk's speech were used in leaflets announcing another big meeting by the Campaign Against Atomic Death in Frankfurt Town Hall on May 28.

FOOTNOTE: Dr. Jungk's book was noted in Peace News on March 1, 1957, and reviewed at length by Hilda von Klenze on May 10, 1957. The German edition is published by Scherz and Goverts, Stuttgart, the British by Gollancz; an American edition will appear later this year.

Britain and the Bomb WHAT YOU CAN DO

June 22 March on London

PN REPORTER

"IF SIX H-BOMBS DROPPED on London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Cardiff, Glasgow, Plymouth, or on cities anywhere in the world, massive destruction would ensue."

"YET SOMETHING CAN BE DONE . . ."

"The fate of those who live in New York, Chicago, Moscow, Stalingrad, Berlin, Paris and Britain is our moral responsibility. Something can be done if we will do it."

Thus reads the leaflet issued by the London March Committee of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, calling on people to join in the March on London on Sunday, June 22.

"There, in the centre of Britain's capital city, we will march together in protest at this monstrous future."

"There we will demonstrate our firm opposition to the manufacture, testing and storing of the Hydrogen bomb by Britain."

These leaflets are now available in reasonable quantities for distribution to interested groups from the London March Committee, Pioneer House, 348 Gray's Inn Rd., London, W.C.1 (Telephones: TERMINUS 7147 and 7148).

Marchers will converge on central London from North, South, East and West. At 5.30 p.m. they will attend a mass meeting in Trafalgar Square.

People have already indicated they are coming from many parts of Britain.

The marches will begin from Finchley, Streatham, Turnham Green and Ilford. A number of smaller marches will join up with the four main contingents.

The March Committee has asked that all enquiries concerning arrangements for the four contingents be made directly to the respective Co-ordinators.

Two routes

The East march will leave from Ilford, via Romford Rd., Bow Rd., Mile End, Whitechapel, Fleet St., and the Strand to Trafalgar Square.

The East march Co-ordinator is Dave Goodman, 209 Coventry Rd., Ilford. The telephone contact is Syd. Kaye, VAlentine 0782.

The West march begins at Turnham Green, and proceeds via Kensington High St., Knightsbridge and Piccadilly to Trafalgar Square.

The West march Co-ordinator is John Prescott, 49 Petersham Rd., Richmond, Surrey. The telephone contact is Mrs. Bolster, HOUnslow 4038.

The West contingent will be augmented at Turnham Green by a large West-of-England contingent.

All in the West of England who are interested in supporting the March and who are not yet already organising are asked to write to Austin Underwood, Organiser, West of England March on London, at once at 4 Earls Road, Amesbury, Wilts. (Tel.: Amesbury 3001). He will put them in touch with their local organiser for the March.

The North march will assemble at 10 a.m. (all times throughout subject to confirmation) in Finchley. A march organised by the Barnet Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Mrs. Manning, Chmn., will join

the North march at Finchley. The North march will leave Finchley at 10.30 a.m.

They will march from Finchley to Archway, where there will be a lunch break. There they will be joined by another march from Finsbury Park, which will have been preceded by a 10.30 rally and set off at 11 a.m.

The North march will proceed from Archway to Camden Town, where it will be joined by a march which had begun in Golders Green, via Hampstead and Primrose Hill.

The North march will then proceed down Hampstead Rd. to Tottenham Court Rd. and Charing Cross Rd. to Trafalgar Sq.

The North march Co-ordinator is Mrs. R. A. M. Gregson, 26 Thurlstone Ave., N.12. (Tel.: ENTERprise 4873.)

The South march begins at Streatham Common with an out-door meeting at 10 a.m. and leaving at 10.30. They will proceed to Clapham Common and at 12.30 join a rally organised by the Clapham group.

Accommodation

After lunch at Clapham Common, the South march will leave at 2 p.m. via Brixton to The Oval for tea and another meeting.

A Bromley section of the South march will leave at 10 a.m. for New Cross, where at Goldsmiths' College they will meet a march from Woolwich, which will have begun at 10.30 a.m., marching via Greenwich.

The Bromley-Woolwich march will join with the main South march from Streatham Common at The Oval. Then they will proceed via Westminster Bridge up Whitehall to Trafalgar Square.

The South march Co-ordinator is Bill Evans, 14 Friends Rd., Croydon (day tel.: WAL 5330.)

Offers of accommodation for out-of-London marchers and requests for such accommodation should be sent direct to the following persons:

North march: Mr. Tom Holloway, 142 Regents Park Rd., N.3.

East march: Miss Janet Roberts, 23 Brandville Gardens, Barkingside, Ilford, Essex.

West march: Mr. Sydney Savill, 170 Ellerdine Rd., Hounslow.

South march: Mr. Trevor Richards, 120 Balham Park Rd., S.W.12.

The March Committee would appreciate offers of loans of public address systems, with or without cars, for use in connection with the March.

A short meeting for Worship and Dedication is planned in Colchester before the marchers commence their journey by coach or car to join the March at Ilford, reports Ted Dunn, Clerk of Colchester Quaker Monthly Meeting Peace Committee.

People wishing to book seats to join the contingent from Colchester are asked to get in touch with Bess Marsh, Lufkins, Dedham (Tel.: Dedham 2167).

'NO' to FASCISM in FRANCE and ALGERIA

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1. - Friday, June 6, - 7.30 p.m.

Chairman: IAN MIKARDO, MP

Speakers: MICHAEL FOOT, FENNER BROCKWAY, MP, W.A.G. ROBERTS (Vehicle Builders)

Meeting organised by Movement for Colonial Freedom, Victory for Socialism, London Majlis and Afro-Asian Students Co-ordinating Committee

★ OUT AND ABOUT WITH THE CAMPAIGN ★

The rising tide of protest

By Christopher Farley

THE Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is gaining ground all over Britain. Reports pouring into PN office tell the same story time and time again: crowded meetings, unanimous resolutions, real anxiety and moral indignation.

The threat of nuclear warfare and the ever-growing danger from nuclear tests has caught people's imagination to a degree which continues to stagger organisers, sponsors and committee members alike. "We've never seen anything like this before" is a common verdict. And enthusiastic meetings are being held in areas formerly written off as "dead."

This is a grand tonic for the disillusioned pacifists who, after struggling against apathy for years in their neighbourhood, are coming back into the fray with all their old energy.

Crowds of many hundreds appear at meetings in most towns, and in the larger cities they increase to well over a thousand. Manchester, for example, packed them in on May 21 at not one, but two, giant meetings. The famous Free Trade Hall was crowded, so a parallel meeting, with all the same speakers, was held across the road at the Albert Hall.

At the Free Trade Hall it was good to see the Bishop of Manchester sitting in the Chair; too many of his fellow dignitaries are still sitting on the fence!

Another good feature of these meetings was the appearance of the two Presidents of Manchester University Unions, Terry Davies, a medical student, and Gillian Hopkins, a graduate in Arts.

Working a 28-hour day

Other speakers included Lord Simon of Wythenshawe, the Chairman of the Manchester Committee, whose meetings were "the beginning of a new phase of active campaigning in the North"; Sir Stephen King-Hall, "who has put into practical and realistic terms the doctrine of unarmed resistance to Communism," and who had just returned from a tour of the USA; and the incredibly active Oxford historian A. J. P. Taylor.

Anyone who has observed the flood of books, pamphlets and reviews by Mr. Taylor, not to mention his TV features, lectures and work at Magdalene College, must have wondered how he finds the time for his incessant campaigning. Perhaps, like Dr. Soper, he is working a 28-hour day?

Two days before the Manchester meetings A. J. P. Taylor had addressed 1,700 people in Birmingham's Town Hall. Demolishing the platitude that "we must not lower our guard," he pointed to the Government's White Paper on Defence, which stated that there was no defence for the civil population against H-bombs, and none was being planned. "It is not a guard—it is a reprisal," he declared. And this meeting was sponsored by a committee which included two

Bishops. The Lambeth Conference will have to hear more about this.

But it is not only the big battalions that are in the struggle against nuclear war. Local meetings are being held everywhere, and many prominent personalities are taking time off to speak at smaller towns. Dr. Alex Comfort, for example, recently spent an evening at Enfield where the County School Hall was almost filled for the launching of the local Campaign.

Whit Rocket week-end

A feature of this meeting was the showing of the film "Japanese Fishermen," which had a profound effect on the audience. Film shows are proving an effective method of awakening people to the realities of the nuclear crisis. The film of the Aldermaston March, made by the Film and TV Industry Committee for Nuclear Disarmament, will be ready for hiring on August 1. In black and white, it runs for between 25 and 30 minutes, and forms a permanent historical record. Bookings at a rental of £2 should be made to Contemporary Films, Ltd., 14 Soho Square, London, W.1.

The local Fellowship of Reconciliation and Quaker Peace Committee got together at Colchester recently and attracted over 300 people to the town's historic Movement Hall. The Rev. Michael Scott, Director of the Africa Bureau, was chief speaker and in the chair was experienced campaigner Dr. John Kershaw, Medical Officer of Health for Colchester. He announced that local Tory MP Mr. C. J. M. Alport had not been invited "to save him embarrassment!"

This meeting was advertised by a fleet of cars driving through the old Roman town on the previous Saturday. "Highly successful," they told Peace News, reminding us once again that enthusiasm can fire a project.

It was just as well that enthusiasm did not fire the project at Southend, however, because last week the project there was—a rocket! The Army displayed for the first time in public its giant Thunderbird Rocket at Whit week-end "to attract recruits for a rocket army." Despite protests from the local Labour Party, Anti-H-bomb campaign, Councillors and residents, the Army went ahead.

Coast to coast march

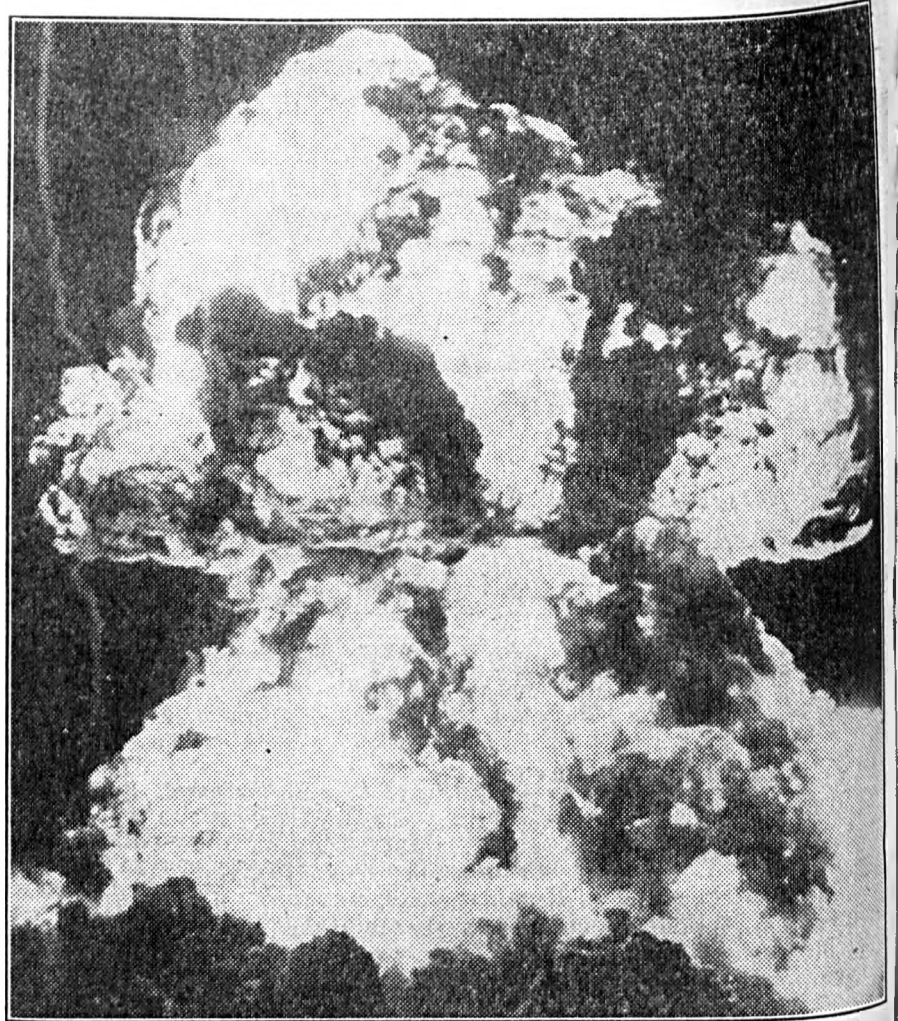
The challenge was accepted, and a three-day vigil held on the spot by the local Campaign. Five thousand protest leaflets were distributed. "Much interest was shown in the protest, with very little hostility," Roy Simpkins told PN. "One retired Colonel... called the rocket 'madness.'... When some of the soldiers started a conversation with the secretary (of the local Campaign) the sergeant-major told them to come away!"

The £1,000-a-foot Thunderbird was being exhibited next at Ipswich and then in other towns. Who will spring to our defence there? (Mr. Sandys please note.)

Turning to the future, Northern folk are organising a coast-to-coast march across Yorkshire and Lancashire, starting on June 27 evening from Withernsea. Hull, Pontefract, Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Oldham, Manchester and Liverpool are on the route, and volunteers may march for an hour or all the way. Liverpool will be reached on July 6.

The march is organised by a sub-committee of the Hull Branch of the Campaign. Get your details from Francis Deutsch, 13 Park Grove, Hull.

The Sunday before this march starts, June 22, will see the March on London from all over Britain. Note the date; prepare your hearts and heads now—and your feet.



The huge fireball that appeared in the sky over the Nevada Desert, USA on March 17, 1953, following an explosion of an A-bomb that virtually wiped out "Doom Town," a make-believe US community. Officials reported the atomic blast could have killed 100,000 persons if the place had been populated. A modern six-room house, three-quarters of a mile from the blazing nuclear bomb that hit with the impact of 15,000 tons of TNT, was crushed as if by a million hammers, and another house a mile and a half away had its mannequin occupants hurled about, its windows smashed, doors torn off and its foundations separated as if by an earthquake.

—International News Photos.

RADIATION: HOW IT AFFECTS YOU

By Hebert Jehle

The writer, a professor of physics at the University of Nebraska, USA, is a prominent member of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science.

WHAT is involved in nuclear bomb tests and nuclear warfare?

Fall-out is one of the results from nuclear bomb tests.

How can the danger be sized up?

It can only be estimated, so the numbers given below may be several times too high or several times too low.

What is fall-out from bomb tests?

The radio-active dust which is blown into the stratosphere above our atmosphere settles down to earth over a span of many years and then irradiates everything, slightly in case of bomb tests, devastatingly in case of war.

"Hard," i.e., penetrating radiation from outside hits all parts of the body equally, "soft" radiation just burns the outer skin. But the most vicious radiation comes from the intake of Strontium 90, which settles in our bone and marrow and can cause leukaemia.

How do we measure radiation effects on tissues of living organisms?

In radiation units, called "r" units or roentgen. The rep, the rad, and even the rem are not too much different. Each one of them causes some 10^{10} , i.e., 100,000,000,000 ionizations which damage the molecules in our body. But we have about 10^{28} , i.e., 10,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000 atoms altogether in our body, so only one in 10^{18} or 100,000,000,000 gets damaged. These atoms won't be split, they are simply ionized, i.e., changed. One in a hundred thousand million is a small fraction, but some of those changes may cause havoc if the damages are done in a critical spot.

How much radiation is there anyhow around us?

In a 30-year span, called a generation, we may get an accumulated dose of about 4

roentgen from natural sources and perhaps a similar amount from medical X-rays, and in addition about 0.2 roentgen from fall-out caused by bombs exploded at the present rate.

What are the damages we talk about?

Somatic and genetic. Somatic damage we call that damage which occurs because molecules in all kinds of cells of our own body get hit and damaged. Some of them get hit more, perhaps starting a growth, most of them get hit with no effect.

How much radiation can we tolerate?

If received in one dose from outside (i.e., if radio-active materials are not eaten), 500 roentgen will give us a 50-50 chance of being killed. If received slowly, each single roentgen might, on the average, shorten our life by a week—for some people it might mean no bad effect, for some others premature death. In this sense, the fall-out from bombs exploded at the present rate, which may shorten the average life of all people on earth by a day, may mean nothing to most people, but it may mean premature death, perhaps ten years earlier than otherwise expected, for one three-thousandth of the earth's population, i.e., about a million people. As these estimates have been reached only a few years ago, the "maximum permissible doses" given by government regulations have been repeatedly and drastically lowered.

The distribution over the world of the biggest threat, Strontium, is very uneven. Where it reaches children, it is likely to cause havoc.

Genetic damage occurs if one of the germ cells from which a new baby develops has been hit badly. That baby may have a serious genetic defect—and its children, too; it is a final, irreparable damage.

(To be continued)

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service
3.30 p.m. Sunday, June 8
Friends International Centre
32 Tavistock Square, Euston
Discourse by Rev. G. E. Neely
"The City set on a Hill"

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Hospital bars African from his wife

By BASIL DELAINE
Bulawayo, S. Rhodesia

WHILE racial tension mounts in the North, Southern Rhodesia displayed the worst colour bar incident for a long time when a husband was barred from seeing his seriously ill wife in hospital.

Mr. Patrick Matimba is the African lawyer who made world headlines last year when he took his Dutch-born white wife to live in Rusape, a small farming town in this colour-bar colony.

WHITES CARRY GUNS

The young wife collapsed from miscarriage and was taken to a European hospital.

Mr. Matimba called there with his two-year-old Eurasian daughter and asked to see his wife. The answer was "no."

Mr. Matimba was African. If he were allowed in a European ward other white settler patients would object, said a hospital official. Filled with bewilderment and misery, the husband who is being victimised because he was born with black skin, made his way back to Mr. Clutton Brock's missionary settlement where his family had stayed for a year.

Later, frantic with worry, Mr. Matimba decided to have his wife moved to an African hospital so that he and his daughter could visit her.

Meanwhile, in Northern Rhodesia, some white settlers were carrying guns in their cars as a defence measure. They are alarmed at the growing discontent of Africans displayed in increasingly frequent stonings of Europeans on the roads.

'Golden Rule' postcards

PRINTED postcards of the "Golden Rule" that runs through the major religions of the world, have been issued by George's Meeting (Unitarian), South St., Exeter. The postcards feature extracts from Dr. Meyer-Klugel's article on "Peace and the World's Faiths" in Peace News of November 1, 1957; they cost 2d each, with larger quantities at reduced rates.

THE OLD GUARD

THE fact that the younger generation is typified by the young man who looks back in anger is not peculiar to our day and age. The younger generation generally tend to look on the older as not only out of date but as obstacles to what they in their enthusiasm want to do.

That is not unnatural and may indeed often be justified. But it is more than a platitude to say that the right mixture is the experience of the older and the enthusiasm of the younger.

However that may be, I am sure that even the more critical of the younger generation of pacifists do not forget what we all owe to the "old guard" and that they do not feel ashamed of or ungrateful to those who took their stand in the earlier days, many of whom are still active in the PPU and helping to provide the money to finance our work.

I am prompted to write this because of an anonymous letter which I have received which says: "On July 7 I and my wife become entitled to retirement pensions. We shall send the PPU our first week's pension of £4 odd. There are probably scores of 1914 COs who will become eligible at the same time. You might like to make your appeal in Peace News soon to others to follow our example."

I felt that I could not do other than express appreciation of this generous offer to the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund in this way and pass on the suggestion to others... but I very much hope that it will not only be the "old guard" that respond.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,200.
Amount received to date: £372.
Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund" to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Shephard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

'No victory without action'

P N STAFFMAN AT BRIZE NORTON

From our Oxford correspondent

"MILLIONS of Americans are with you," declared Gene Sharp at the Brize Norton RAF-USAF H-base demonstration on Whit Monday. The Assistant Editor of Peace News, himself an American, was describing to the marchers from Oxford recent protests in the USA.

He was personally a pacifist, he said, but there was a sense in which arguments about whether participation in World War II was right or wrong "now belong to ancient history."

Both those pacifists who could not see that the H-bomb was worse than bows and arrows and the non-pacifists who could not see that you couldn't defend freedom with H-bombs were "out of date," he said.

"We are one on this issue and the opposition shall not divide us."

Terrible as a foreign occupation would be, those who said they were against tyranny but, instead of being prepared to resist a possible tyrannical invader, were prepared to exterminate at least a major section of humanity, were cowards.

Non-violence in a democracy

"It is we, who are ready to resist both tyranny and the H-bomb, who are the fighters on this issue, not they," he said. (Applause.)

The case against nuclear weapons was straightforward: Nuclear weapons constituted a threat to exterminate a major section, if not all, of humanity. This was immoral by any standard.

This threat was too great a risk to take—regardless of the odds. Twelve years of negotiation had failed; unilateral action therefore was needed. Because of their vast power, there was little chance that either the USA or USSR could give a lead. It therefore had to come from Britain.

But there would be no victory if there were only talk. Democracy was more than talking and voting. "Passive acceptance of blatant evil is not democracy. There is nothing democratic in genocide." (Applause.)

Democracy included "taking moral responsibility for our own actions and those of our society."

Non-violent resistance could supplement ordinary democratic procedures. Dr. Soper had already spoken of "other methods" after June.

It was the democratic responsibility of people in all countries to act, and not to be led to believe that someone else would do the job for them.

The methods to be used by his own countrymen, the peoples of Britain, and eventually the Soviet Union, included parades, marches, vigils and lobbies.

Strike action

They included also:

- "No brain- or muscle-work for the death factories or rocket bases."
- Withdrawal of money used for these purposes. People could at least refuse to buy Government bonds, national savings, or national savings certificates.
- In his own country, no votes for any candidate who would not pledge himself to vote against nuclear weapons—not simply to abstain. People here had to make up their own minds.
- Resistance to the construction of rocket bases.
- Industrial action, "including the General Strike when the time comes."
- "If there is justification for a strike on economic grounds there is justification for strike action to save the lives of children all over the world."
- In America, civil disobedience also; Britishers had to make up their own minds. But the time might come when it would be necessary to fill the prisons in order to save humanity.

The way would not be easy. A British lead would be a great example for his fellow Americans and for the Russian people also.

"For the sake of your country, for the sake of my country, for the sake of the Soviet Union, and all mankind, break with the nuclear alliance with my country," Gene Sharp pleaded. "Refuse any such



Oxford Mail.

Gene Sharp

new alliance with the Soviet Union. Renounce genocide.

"Stand up straight as free men, aware of the danger but not afraid, aware of the strength of the opposition, but ready to struggle till victory, determined to build a free, just and more human society."

The speaker believed that the people of this country were capable of the required greatness. "Do not let us down," he pleaded. By such action the British people would earn the eternal gratitude of the world.

'Dead hand' would kill the Russians

"FAR from being in a position of complete security, we are only a couple of hours away from the total destruction of the human race," declared A. J. P. Taylor recently.

Some people argued: "Russia has the H-bomb—why not ourselves?"

"If they want to be like that they can also say Russia has concentration camps—why not ourselves?" he commented.

The Oxford historian and TV personality was speaking at the first Nuclear Disarmament mass meeting in Cheltenham, traditional home of retired colonels. About 400 people in the Town Hall heard his scathing comments on preparation for nuclear war.

RADIO-ACTIVE DUST

He thought his audience would be interested to know that preparations were already being made to ensure that if all the Americans were killed in the first nuclear attack a machine called the "dead hand" would pull a lever and set in motion bombs that would kill all the Russians as well.

Dr. Antoinette Pirie, the biologist and leading authority on radiation, set out the facts of the H-bomb tests: gross disfigurement, cancers, still-births, miscarriages and a shortening of the expectancy of life.

Only about half the radio-active dust from bombs already exploded had come down; it was concentrated mostly in the upper atmosphere of the northern hemisphere.

The tremendous power for good in the hands of ordinary people was emphasised by Harold Steele, who attempted last year to enter the Christmas Island testing area.

DOLCI GROUPS FORMED

Danilo Dolci Groups have been formed in six European countries for making available information regarding the Italian's Gandhi-type work in Sicily. The address for Britain is c/o the National Peace Council, 29, Great James St., London, W.C.1.

UP AND DOING

Marching with tears

"WE were marching with tears in our eyes..." Why? A funeral procession? Well no—at least not yet! It was the beginning of the march to the RAF-USAF H-bomber base at Brize Norton. Someone had just thrown a home-made tear-gas bomb!

The incident was soon forgotten and the march went on its way with songs and laughter. Every now and again one of the McWhirter boys drove past in a black car equipped with a loudspeaker or marchers would come across groups of his followers standing pathetically at village corners with posters bearing enigmatic slogans such as "Disarm through Nato." The marchers laughed or ignored them.

But the holiday spirit on the march did not blind those taking part to the seriousness or urgency of their task. Now that it is over we must all get back to work with renewed vigour to prepare the way for the social and political revolution that must occur if the movement is to succeed.

Perhaps you were unable to join in the march itself? In that case maybe you could find time—an hour or two a week—to take part in the more routine but just as urgent task of spreading our ideas among ordinary people.

Start off with a dozen, or half a dozen, Peace News. Try selling them from door to door or at street corners—you'll be surprised how they go. Above all, act quickly. It's now that we need you.

MICHAEL RANDLE,

Sales Organiser.

Details of organisations holding voluntary work camps this summer are available from International News, c/o Alun Davies, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

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Two-way disaster

IN trying to assess the degree of seriousness of the clashes in Tunisia between French and Tunisian forces it is well to remember that it was over Tunisia that the Gaillard Cabinet in France came to grief; and that it was the fall of this Cabinet that introduced the short-lived Pflimlin régime which became the first phase of the death agony of the Fourth Republic.

It is likely to come as a surprise to a great many people that there should be a place in the world where General de Gaulle is looked upon as liberal-minded. But there is such a place—the whole of “French” North Africa. Tunisians, Moroccans and Algerians all see in the authoritarian general the one Frenchman fit to rank in the same category as M. Mendès France.

He even ranks higher because, whereas M. Mendès France appeared on the Algerian scene comparatively late and then quite failed to control the right-wing extremists of the National Assembly in Paris and the colons in Algeria, General de Gaulle performed the considerable feat of putting forward his plan for a North-African federation implying co-equality of its citizens with those of metropolitan France and yet retaining, subsequently, his hold on the right-wing in France and the French in North Africa.

At first sight, then, it should be safe to expect that the Franco-Tunisian situation would become much easier with de Gaulle's advent to power. If he could have come alone, this hope might well have become justified by a favourable course of events almost at once. But he comes surrounded by the men who have been so largely, not to say almost wholly, instrumental in bringing him to the head of the State—General Salan, General Massu and other militarists and militants of the least progressive and conciliatory school of French thought.

The Tunisian fear (which, incidentally, also exists in Morocco) that the wholly militaristic thinking of many of these men includes plans to re-occupy Tunisia and Morocco because such re-occupation “seems indispensable if complete victory is to be attained in Algeria” cannot be rejected as idle fancy. Nor can its red-hot danger through international implications be denied.

Unless General de Gaulle displays the strong-man qualities with which he is credited fully as much against the most prominent of his helpers to power as against all the other dangers besetting his country, his assumption of the leadership of France may prove a two-way disaster—external as well as internal.

Soldier's conscience

WHATEVER form of legality has been given to the accession to power of General de Gaulle, he was actually placed where he is by a revolt of army officers and the threat of civil war.

These threats of civil war came from the army command, backed by the Algerian settlers and neo-Fascist groups in France. There has, of course, been no question of taking the views of the mass of men composing the army before they were brought into this alignment. The views of “the army” have been decided for it by Generals Massu, Salan and the other “top brass.”

It is quite possible, of course, that General Massu (of the tortures) is able to speak for his parachute troops. These are specially selected, specially privileged, soldiers, and even where they have been conscripted into the army they have doubtless been free not to volunteer for the kind of work to which they have been set if they found it distasteful.

When General Salan, however, speaks of what the army desires—of its enthusiasm for de Gaulle—he is referring to the whole army in Algeria; and when the generals in France speak of the army's approval for a de Gaulle Government they are claiming this for the whole of the French army, both in Algeria and in metropolitan France.

Now the rank and file of the army in Algeria are simply expected to carry out the orders that come down from their Generals. Among the hundreds of thousands of conscripts in the French army there must have been many whose families participated in the great march on the Paris boulevards last week as a demonstration



against what the army was demanding. These conscripts at least are likely to be aware that the rendering of an unthinking obedience to their officers, even when these were acting against the Government they were appointed to serve, could not be the final word as to what constituted the conscripts' duty.

It is this that they had handed themselves over to, however. The French make

no provision for exemption from military service on grounds of conscience. There do not therefore have to be tribunals in France to pronounce on the validity of conscientious objections. Had they existed they would have presented from now on some difficult problems for those called upon to adjudicate. We shall be surprised if we do not find the Courts who are sending men back to prison again and again faced with these problems.

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FRANCE AND DEMOCRACY

THE ESTABLISHMENT of the temporary dictatorship of de Gaulle has been made possible by the endorsement of sufficient members of the French Socialist Party (the SFIO).

This, just as the inclusion of M. Mollet in the de Gaulle Government, is consonant with the fitness of things.

Justifiable distrust of the Communists has resulted in persistent effort to eliminate from the parliamentary reckoning their support as the largest political party. But, next to that, it is the failure of the French Socialists that has been the biggest single factor in bringing about the present situation.

The representatives of the British Labour Party, the German Social Democrats, and the other affiliates to the Labour and Socialist International, have been able to classify the SFIO as “Socialist,” but there has been little in its post-war record to make the reason for this clear to the lay observer.

Its outlook has been much nearer Fascist than Socialist. What socialism it may have retained has become submerged under the “national socialism,” which, it may be recalled, was the formal designation of the Nazis.

There have been numerous imperialists in the British Labour Party, but their influence has been controlled by the strong anti-imperialist sentiment that Labour has regarded as part of the Socialist outlook. There has been no such similar depth of anti-imperialist sentiment among the French Socialists, and this doubtless considerably helped to bring 5,000,000 votes behind the Communists at the last General Election.

There is, of course, no depth of principle in Communist declarations against imperialist war, and at a sign from Moscow they will take another line. It is not at all impossible that they will take it under de Gaulle. Nevertheless, these declarations have been made, and nothing comparable has come from the SFIO.

★ ★
INDEED it has been under the SFIO, during the Mollet Government, that the worst excesses of imperialism in action have occurred:

- It was M. Lacoste who was the Minister in Algeria!
- General Massu's men most fully applied their system of torture.
- The disgraceful travesty of justice in the settler-dominated trial of Djamil Bouhired took place.
- The suppression of the freedom of the Press was carried to great lengths by confiscations when awkward aspects of truth were set forth.
- The army in Algeria and the regime of the settlers were again and again permitted to engage in policies of unauthorised outrage (of which the Sakhiat massacre during the Gaillard period was only the last and most serious), on the well-founded assumption that the Government would cover the accomplished fact by its endorsement.

★ ★
IF the SFIO had been capable of a different policy from “national socialism,” it could have produced a different kind of support and a different kind of expectation as to policy among French workers.

Its leader would not have capitulated to a hostile demonstration of reactionary settlers at his first formal visit to Algeria as Prime Minister; or if he had done so, he would have been replaced.

Because it has such a large responsibility for the conditions that have made it possible for the army command and the wealthy settlers to engineer the enthronement of de Gaulle, it is appropriate that the SFIO should now give its consent to his enthronement.

De Gaulle envisages, however, a period of only six months for his regime. It may not last that long. He has been put at the centre of government by a temporary assemblage of conflicting groups with little policy in common.

Each group is seeking to make use of de Gaulle and to dupe the others. The General may think he can master them, but very possibly he will not succeed. Twice before he has thrown in his hand; it is not at all unlikely that he will do so again.

★ ★
THE CONFLICT of anti-social egotisms of the various interests, which is the scourge of France, can only be mastered on the basis of the power of the working masses, and here de Gaulle makes no appeal.

Hope for France lies in the better elements in the SFIO reviving it as, or replacing it by, an organisation that will genuinely reject imperialism and the militarism that sustains it, founding themselves on the power inherent in the workers when they can be brought to respond, without resort to violence, to a policy that inspires them.

There has been much heart-searching among the French public on the dishonourable courses that have been pursued in their name.

Only by an appeal to this crisis of conscience that decent Frenchmen have been experiencing, and a true renaissance of the democratic spirit, can France be saved from either a brutal domination by the army or the insincere manoeuvring and chicanery of the Communist leadership.

German referenda

IN Germany the Social Democrats have been seeking means to give expression to the widespread opposition to the equipment of the German Army with tactical nuclear weapons and missiles with nuclear warheads. In the Länder* where the Social Democrats are in control it has been sought to do this by the arrangement of plebiscites on the subject. Three districts in Hesse have already been polled in this way and have registered 90 per cent opposition to the equipment of the West German army with nuclear arms.

In some other Länder the necessary legislation has already been passed to authorise the holding of such referenda, and there are other areas where the Socialist majorities could carry it through.

Dr. Adenauer has asked the Constitutional Court for a ruling on the question, contending that the Länder have no constitutional power to conduct such referenda and that by so doing they are encroaching on the powers of the Federal Government. The attitude of the Länder seeking these referenda is that the Federal Government has no mandate for the introduction of nuclear weapons, and that they are taking the democratic step of discovering the popular will.

The Federal High Court of Karlsruhe has granted an injunction against the City of Hamburg, forbidding the holding of such a referendum until the Constitutional Court has given its ruling, a procedure that is likely to take two months. The Hamburg Government claims that the referendum it was preparing to take would have just the same standing as a Gallup poll; it would have no constitutional significance, but it would have the effect of registering the opinion of the people.

The Social Democrats in the Rhineland-Palatinate have presented the issue in a different and, in our view, much more effective form. They are seeking the referendum on the dissolution of the Landtag (the regional parliament). The success of such a referendum would result in an election which the Social Democrats would propose to fight on the issue of nuclear arms. The ruling given by the Constitutional Court will have no application here. If the same course were adopted in Hamburg a much more powerful step in opposition to the Federal Government policy could result.

*Western Germany is composed of ten Länder (or States) which have their own Parliaments.

Is Nuclear Disarmament Enough?

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Army of Peace

ONE or two of us have for some time felt that the Peace Pledge Union ought to give its ordinary members a chance to work for peace in terms of manual labour and world-wide service to mankind.

None of the existing relief organisations is dedicated to removing the causes as well as the after-effects of all wars. Few have pacifism written into their constitution, as it were. Many are restricted to narrow fields of work, and are open to membership by only Christians and other religious groups.

Is it not time we young folk in the PPU started an Army of Peace? It would have to concentrate on farming, land reclamation, building homes, taking care of orphans, the disabled, the homeless and all who need love bringing into their lives, and above all giving help to the underdeveloped countries. It must be international.

Any volunteers willing to start at once

to get the base organised on a small farm on the Welsh coast, to study all aspects of the work, to cope with the correspondence, to prepare for a work-camp cum holiday-conference at base this summer, and earn their bread and butter by farm work?

We would like to send a few volunteers from this new kind of army to take part in the March on London on June 22.

We shall welcome any letters.—**ARTHUR DARLINGTON**, Tyllwyd, Llanon, Cards., Wales.

Mass Lobby

I WANT to thank the organisers of the mass lobby against the H-bomb race for the splendid job they did.

There is nothing surprising in the fact that large numbers did not come from towns

in the Midlands and the North. Personally I never thought they would. For the mass lobby had to take place when Parliament was sitting, i.e., mid-week.

How could masses of workers from Lancashire and Yorkshire be expected to take a day off in the middle of the week to travel South? A week-end demonstration is a very different matter.

I am confident that very many of them were inspired by Aldermaston and want to participate in a national march. This opportunity will be offered by the motorised contingents travelling to London on Saturday, June 21, to be followed by the marches from points on the perimeter converging on Whitehall on the Sunday. Coach parties should be arranged quickly. **FRANK ALLAUN, MP**, House of Commons, S.W.1.

Opportunity for pacifists

THOSE who indulge in casuistry deserve to have nightmares, so I am not inclined to offer any sympathy to Owen David Evans!

Of course, if pacifists abstained from voting against nuclear warfare their attitude would be indefensible, but it is entirely false to pretend that, because I am not convinced that limiting war to conventional weapons is a means towards abolishing war, I am, in consequence, supporting the continuance of nuclear weapons. To argue from such a premise is a very fine example indeed of what is meant by casuistry.

It is not a question of being "content" to propagate the case for total peace; that, in fact, is the most difficult campaign of all, and I have not ceased from waging it since

country, will find that dictatorial powers in a society of class or bureaucratic privilege will always be used against them in any crisis of the struggle towards equality.

So France begins a new chapter in its history. We shall make a mistake, however, if we regard what is happening as something outside ourselves. The tendencies which have led to the destruction of democracy in Paris are not yet strong in other parliamentary democracies, but they are there. They are in London.

How politics could be popular

One of the features of British life at the present time is an increasing indifference to Parliament. Sometimes this is expressed as contempt for all politicians and political parties. The younger generation particularly is disillusioned. There is the possibility that an apathy may grow similar to the apathy in France.

The answer to this is to make Parliament a living reflection of the lives and problems, the fears and aspirations, of the people. There was a great deal in what a Member of Parliament said during the last day before the Recess, that we have been spending hours in discussing the stupidities of the Purchase Tax when the world is on the brink of dangers greater than have ever faced mankind.

There is one contrast to the general apathy about politics. The only campaign

I first joined the P.P.U. in 1936. It would be much easier and less exhausting to give that up, and travel with the thousands who are campaigning on a slogan, and do not seem to me to have faced the real issues of their demand.

If I sincerely believed that nuclear disarmament was a first step towards pacifism I would gladly urge that step to be taken; since, after much thought and a great deal of heart-searching, I am not so convinced, I can do no other than continue the work of persuading people to commit themselves to pacifism.

If all opinions that differ from one's own are to be called "prejudices" it tends to slam the door on further discussion. I hope that, in the meantime, Owen David Evans and I can agree to differ without twisting arguments to suit our own ends, and both continue to work in our own way for the cause in which we both believe.—**SYBIL MORRISON**, 6 Apollo Place, London, S.W.10.

National Service

I NOW learn that the next Registration Day will be on Saturday, June 14, 1958 when those born between April 1 and June 30, 1939 are required to register.

It is as important as ever that these boys of 18-19, as well as the older boys who had deferment, should know that they have a statutory right to apply for registration as a conscientious objector. In giving as wide publicity as possible to this I hope you will also draw attention to the advice and help that can be obtained from this Board.

I shall be pleased to supply handbills or window-bills on request, or to give any other help I can.—**BRYAN REED**, Secretary, The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

which is drawing crowded audiences to its meetings and which is arousing the enthusiasm of the younger generation is the agitation against nuclear weapons.

Politics will become popular when they become human, dynamic, courageous and creative. The new generation which desires to save its life from destruction will go on to demand a life of fulfilment and expansion.

There is a second faint parallel to France. Our Generals have recently been making political pronouncements which are quite outside their sphere.

There is the beginning of the assumption that military authority gives political authority.

The third parallel is more marked. The extremists among the British settler communities in East and Central Africa have very much the mood of the French settlers in Algeria.

They are not so numerically strong and they have not resident armed forces responsive to their claims, but if, by denying democracy and equality to the African populations among whom they live, they bring about a conflict in their territories it might prove difficult for a Government in this country, as in France, to withstand the pressures of the reactionaries behind them.

We have been warned.

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PROBLEMS FOR de GAULLE

By FENNER BROCKWAY MP

A FORTNIGHT ago I wrote that we were at a turning point in history. So we are. But it is not clear yet where we are turning.

De Gaulle's blueprint is a period of temporary dictatorship during which he and his small group of selected Ministers will settle the fate of Algeria and the future Constitution of France, subsequently to be submitted to a referendum without any Parliamentary endorsement. After which de Gaulle will gracefully retire, the hero and saviour of France, to finish his autobiography.

Events have the habit, however, of tearing up political blueprints. Dictators feed on their power and do not retire. However liberal de Gaulle's intentions may be about Algeria, the fact remains that he has been hoisted to authority by Generals, settlers and reactionaries who have conspired against democracy. Will they be content to be left out of the administration, their policies rejected?

There are three aspects of de Gaulle's known views which break with the France which abdicated on Sunday.

The first is his African policy. He desires France to remain an African Power, but he recognises that the day of Empire has gone. To do him justice he saw that even during the World War. It was in 1944, significantly at Brazzaville in French Equatorial Africa, that he first suggested that the Empire should become a Federation of self-governing nations associated with France.

Fatal clash

De Gaulle has one supreme idea—to make France great again. It could become so as the head of a Power extending over more than a third of the continent of Africa.

This aim will immediately meet critical difficulties. The first will be in Algeria itself.

The Generals there, despite their elevation of de Gaulle to power, indeed because of the new confidence which success in their insurrection has created, will go all out to defeat the forces of the Arab Freedom Movement. Their offensive on Sunday morning, the day of de Gaulle's installation, proved that is their intention. The dictator of France can only defeat this challenge to his hopes of an Algerian settlement by restraining the very forces which have enthroned him.

A related difficulty will be in Tunisia. President Bourguiba has demanded the withdrawal of the French forces. They are barricaded in their bases. Their instinctive reaction to de Gaulle's triumph will be to show their strength.

De Gaulle will have to act quickly if he is to prevent a fatal clash between the French and Tunisian armies.

The situation in Tunisia is immediately critical because the leaders of the Algerian independence movement are now gathered there.

The intention was to establish an exiled Arab Government of Algeria. The major parties of Tunisia and Morocco, the Neo-Destour and the Istiqlal, the Government Parties, are already pledged to recognise this Government. De Gaulle will have to act very quickly.

Even if these urgent difficulties are overcome, de Gaulle's pattern for an African Federation will not be realisable easily. Tunisia and Morocco are now sovereign States, with control of their own foreign policy and, theoretically, of their defence. They are not likely now to accept a proposal which would transfer foreign policy and defence to the Federation, which would in fact mean transference to France.

French West and Equatorial Africa, Togo-land and the Cameroons might accept this—their national movements are not yet so self-reliant as those of North Africa—but it is doubtful if the Freedom Movement of Algeria would agree. De Gaulle may find that he will have to accept the pattern of the Commonwealth for France's African associates rather than Federation.

Not a junior partner

Bourguiba has already made it clear that the nations within any Federation must have the right, enjoyed by India and soon by Nigeria in the Commonwealth, to withdraw from the alliance if and when they desire. Within a few years the territories within French "Black" Africa will make the same claim. De Gaulle will not find the accomplishment of his aim simple.

The second outstanding problem arises in de Gaulle's foreign policy. He has given assurances that he will not undermine either European unity (that is the co-ordination of Western Europe economically and politically) or the Western Alliance; but he has no love for either. How long will he restrain himself? He has the conviction of a divine mission, of being for France a twentieth century Joan of Arc.

He will not subordinate France to Western Europe, particularly to Western Germany. He will not go cap in hand to America. President Eisenhower may say he likes de Gaulle, but every statesman who associated with him even during the cementing years of the war, found him difficult and often impossible as a colleague.

De Gaulle will not be content to be a junior partner of America.

He may hate Communism, but he respects power and may turn to a defence pact with Russia both as a gesture of independence from America and as a means of saving the France which he desires to create. De Gaulle's Ministerial colleagues, wedded to the American bloc, conscious of their status as Party leaders, will find existence strained both politically and personally in the Dictator's Cabinet.

The third breach with the Fourth Republic will be the new Constitution. Let us be a little modest in our approach to this problem. Nowhere has Parliamentary government in its present form solved fully the problem of democracy; it certainly has not in France. But in a world of growing education the solution must be found by more democracy, not less, and de Gaulle is thinking in terms of authoritarianism, of greater powers in the hands of a President, less in the hand of the elected representatives of the people. That is the road to a continuing dictatorship.

The courageous minority who voted against de Gaulle on Sunday were instinctively right.

The people of France, as of every

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Nuclear Dilemma

By the Most Rev. T. D. ROBERTS

Archbishop of Sygden

The writer, a Roman Catholic, was Archbishop of Bombay from 1937-1950. He was one of many contributors to the discussion in *Peace News* last year on the unarmed defence proposal of Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall.

UNDER the title "Dilemma of Conscience" the Catholic Herald has recently published several important letters.

One correspondent stressed the complete impasse reached over the question of nuclear deterrents. He pointed out that to very many Catholics any kind of approval given to nuclear deterrents is "gravely sinful," while others hold that, until any clear pronouncement has been made by the Church, the making of such weapons should be regarded as justifiable.

To another correspondent in the same paper it is clear beyond all reasonable doubt that the Pope has already condemned nuclear deterrents.

At the other extreme The Tablet sees no

moral difficulty about using these weapons against an enemy who has first used them against us. And a theologian, commenting on this attitude, has remarked, "Why not use them first?" Further, The Tablet finds it "very hard to see how anyone can advocate leaving a monopoly of nuclear weapons to the Russians."

This inability to see clearly the moral principles that are involved, let alone their application, springs, according to Mr. J. B.

The Right Reverend

GEORGE F. MACLEOD

Moderator of the Church of Scotland, and

Dr. DONALD SOPER

will be the next contributors in this series of articles in which writers comment on world affairs from a Christian viewpoint.

Priestley, from "nuclear madness," which makes our rulers "lunatic shepherds" and ourselves sheep conditioned by unreality, hysteria and panic. To Earl Russell the preparation for nuclear war is "crime and folly without parallel in human history." In Sir Stephen King-Hall's judgment even defensive strategy condemns it as folly amounting to treason. Has history ever yielded a better example of unaided human reason groping in darkness?

In this confusion Catholics naturally turn to the Church, which is already exercising in so many fields its divine right to supplement by its authority the uncertainty of human reasoning. For example, if a Catholic finds the same difficulty in proving (even to himself) the intrinsic malice of contraception as do successive Lambeth Conferences, or the Parliaments of Indian States in legalising contraceptive methods, he must confess, "My inability to see contraception as intrinsically wrong is due to my defective reasoning. I can only obey the Church when it forbids the practice and try to see it as God sees it."

Urgency of decisions

In fact, several petitions have gone to Rome seeking for the same kind of clear-cut teaching on modern war. As far as I know, there has been nothing more decisive than the statement of Cardinal Ottaviani, whose position in the Holy Office may add extrinsic authority to the intrinsic force of his arguments. As long as twelve years ago he said, speaking chiefly of weapons now conventional, that "war (modern total war) must altogether be forbidden."*

Meanwhile no one can deny the urgency of decisions on nuclear policy. In this situation it is possible for a Catholic in a position of responsibility to persist in his state of doubt and merely wait for a definitive pronouncement from the Church?

For my own part, I would recommend him to consider what is set out by St. Ignatius in the "Spiritual Exercises" "for the purpose of obtaining knowledge of the matters about which an election is to be made," viz., a serious decision according to the will of God. It would greatly help if he could be taken to some place of retreat which provided opportunity for prayer, solitude and study. Then I would remind him of St. Ignatius's words:

"In order that both the giver and receiver of the Exercises may be better helped and benefited, it must be presupposed that every good Christian must be more ready to excuse the proposition of another man than to condemn it; and if he cannot save it, let him enquire how he understands it: if the other understands it wrongly, let him correct him with love; if this suffice not, let him seek

**Institutiones Juris Publici Eccl.*, vol. I, pp. 151-5, 3rd ed. (Rome 1947).

BAN THE BOMB

—Opinion poll verdict

A LARGE majority of votes in favour of stopping all further tests and of banning nuclear weapons by international agreement were given in replies in a public opinion poll held in Chesterfield, Derbyshire, by the Chesterfield Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Most did not want the establishment of missile bases and an overwhelming majority were against planes with nuclear weapons on board flying over this country.

Most thought that agreement on disarmament would not be made easier if more countries possessed the H-bomb, but a

slight majority felt safer now that Britain had the bomb.

The poll was taken by obtaining 20 completed forms each from 20 streets, i.e., 400 returns. As 17 forms proved uncollectable the analysis as shown below is based on 383 returns. The N/A sign stands for "no answer."

QUESTIONS.

	Yes	No	Doubtful	N/A
1. Do you feel safer now Britain possesses the H-bomb?	170	155	56	2
2. Are you in favour of stopping all further tests of nuclear weapons?				
(a) immediately—Britain alone?	97	137	11	138
(b) by international agreement?	294	20	4	65
3. Are you in favour of stopping the establishment of missile bases in this country?	223	123	25	12
4. Do you think agreement on disarmament is made easier if more countries possess the H-bomb?	117	196	52	18
5. Are you in favour of planes equipped with nuclear weapons flying over Britain?	37	321	14	11
6. Are you in favour of the banning of nuclear weapons?				
(a) by Britain alone?	85	137	9	152
(b) by international agreement?	316	22	5	40

all possible means in order that the other, rightly understanding it, may save it from error."

This is a statement of the highest importance, but never more so than in an assembly where some may think of others as mad or bad or both, and employ words like "crack-pot," "murder," "suicide," "lunacy," "sheep" and so on. Politeness may indeed eschew the evil word, but only charity controls the evil thought.

I would insist on his having a New Testament, and a copy of Fr. Stratmann's "War and Christianity Today." (I have met a few who did not like it, but hardly anyone who has read it.) Fr. Stratmann covers pretty thoroughly in small compass the teaching on war of Our Lord, of the Popes and many Bishops, of non-Catholics and non-Christians. The teaching of non-Catholics and non-Christians is important; for the Pope has often exhorted the faithful to cultivate with all God's friends our common ground of reason and conscience.

To prepare himself for the "election" his mornings and evenings would be spent in meditation; only the afternoons would be given to lectures and discussions. These would cover as thoroughly as possible the classical teaching of theologians on the requirements of morality in war, including defensive war; especially on the *modus debitus*—the due proportion between the good to be defended and the evils permitted. Here, films might supplement literature lest the academically-minded should give a merely notional and not a real assent to the horrors of total war or to the dangers of multiplying H-bombs.

Wars between Christians

"War is always immoral whilst a peaceful substitute remains." This is a principle to which all would give their consent. On the matter of "peaceful substitutes," Catholic literature is worse than scanty. But we have in the weekly *Peace News* and similar publications accounts of non-violent resistance all over the world. Knowledge of such alternatives is surely a duty for any serious student, especially a Christian.

These alternatives become vitally important when we recall the moralists' insistence that it must be known for certain whether, in point of fact, the weapon on trial (here nuclear weapons) will effectively defend or deter. To use the weapon without this certainty would be to act like a man casually heaving bricks out of his window, an action discouraged also by policemen. The state of doubt must be resolved by enquiry into the possible effects of such actions.

Let us note in passing that Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, in his *Defence in the Nuclear Age** is as much concerned with the strategy of war as any other naval man might be in arguing for a new type of gun. The indirect bearing of his book, on the morality of nuclear warfare, is in its condemnation on military grounds. Even if its morality were unquestioned the very

*Gollancz, 18s.

concept would still remain for him strategic lunacy.

In assessing the proportion between the good to be defended and the evil to be permitted, the Catholic moralist will have always before his eyes the essential consideration, "the good of religion." He will consider how, for example, God's interests may have suffered among non-Christians because of wars between Christians. From personal experience I would rate the physical effects of war, even in Hiroshima, as slight in comparison with the moral effects.

Again, every penny of the astronomical millions spent on defence belongs to God. It is all "entered in His books," and as His stewards, men must account for their use of God's gifts. It could be that He has allowed such great poverty in Asia and Africa in order to make us the pity-full instruments of His pity. Our hands are the limbs of one Body, His own Son's. The doctrine of the Mystical Body—the analogy with the physical body, though divinely chosen, inevitably falls short of the reality—is the one I would propose as the subject of our meditations and as the background for all our discussions.

Question for a Catholic

Among the many references to the doctrine by Our Lord and by His disciples, John and Paul, I would choose as the consideration most helpful to the "election" Our Lord's description of the Last Judgment (Matt. xxv, 31-46): "I was hungry and you gave me not to eat. . . . As long as you did it not to one of these least, as you did you do it to Me." "All nations" are to be judged, that is, all responsible beings endowed with conscience, the guide to their Creator's will. There is not a single one who was not created to be a member of Christ's kingdom or who denied the means to secure his place in it.

At the same time, and this is a most important consideration, Our Lord did not say that violence has no place in His kingdom. It is even His teaching that only violence can possess it. Nor can it be said that this refers only to violence against self; for there are soldier saints, like St. Joan of Arc. The Christian violence is surely that of the surgeon operating. The torturer's violence is the devil's.

The scene on Calvary seemed to all witnesses the triumph of evil in the war of ideas. The final victory went to Our Lord, the Father's Idea. True, even the meekness of God's Lamb, His rejection of fire from heaven and of angelic armies does not determine our choice against all war. But would the following be a fair question to put to our responsible Catholic, pondering his "election" after meditating on the words and acts of our Sovereign Legislator?

Did His violence willed by and against Himself carry any lesson of renunciation for nations as well as for individuals?

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DIARY NUCLEAR DANGERS

Professor Lionel Penrose, FRS, reviews

Atomic Radiation Dangers and what they mean to you. By H. W. Heckstall-Smith. J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd. 7s. 6d.
Nuclear War. By Kenneth G. Robinson. James Clarke & Co. Ltd. Pp. 47. 1s. 6d.

IT is considered by some scientists that it is their duty, from time to time, to keep the public informed about the new developments in their subjects. In hardly any matter can this be as important as it is in relation to atomic power.

Mr. Heckstall-Smith's account of radiation dangers is intended to be an unbiased exposition understandable to non-scientists. The description of the scientific facts throughout is indeed commendably clear and objective. There is, nevertheless, some residual bias because the writer believes it is most important that people should be aware of the dangers he describes.

When he is on his own ground of physics, Mr. Heckstall-Smith is authoritative and interesting; but he does not always write at a level to be understood by people without scientific training.

Perhaps it is demanding too much to ask for each technical detail to be fully explained. On the medical and biological questions his touch is less certain for, although he quotes many sources, the picture which emerges is more speculative than in other parts of the book. For example, the genetical risk or radiocaesium is emphasised without providing any quantitative data on the amount of disease it might cause.

Several statements at the end of Chapter VI are almost certainly incorrect, such as the expectation of seeing much more genetic damage in the grandchildren than in the children of exposed parents. Unless there is intensive inbreeding in the population such an effect would only be predicted if radiation produced quite unique types of recessive diseases, and this is not an accepted view among geneticists. Furthermore, the impression given that very little is known about human heredity is rather misleading.

There is a welcome discussion of the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Perhaps the most interesting part of the book, however, concerns accidents which have occurred in connection with military or civil uses. A pat on the back is reserved

for Sir John Cockcroft, whose foresight had prevented the Windscale incident from being a disaster.

Mr. Kenneth G. Robinson's essay on nuclear war makes a natural companion to Mr. Heckstall-Smith's book. It has an entirely popular appeal and there is no attempt at detachment. Mr. Robinson deals with his problems from the ethical, humanitarian, or, perhaps it should be said, the common sense point of view. He discusses what the human population is up against in the attempt to deal politically with the terrible powers with which technical and scientific skill has provided it.

He first discusses the conventional idea of warfare and how statesmen have tried to translate their notions into atomic terms. The result is to produce a new theoretical model in which a force of technicians slaughtering enemy civilians is the only clear objective.

Armament races are chiefly bad because they increase the danger of war between the participants. They do so because part of their aim is to make both themselves and others nervous and apprehensive instead of making them feel safer. There is always the risk of some State's feeling the necessity of a preventive war. Statesmen, Mr. Robinson thinks, are neither better nor worse than the rest of mankind, but their job is intensely difficult. In trying best to serve their own country's interests they may be unable to see that the welfare of all has become an integral part of their duties.

How then can progress be made? Mr. Robinson supports the standard practices; more trust in the United Nations and the re-affirming of the Kellogg Pact are needed. Abandoning of nuclear tests and weapons is essential, he says, on Christian ethical grounds as well as on considerations of ordinary common sense.

to the NATO meeting in Copenhagen. The first, on Sunday, May 4, was attended by between 500 and 1,000 people and organised by the Copenhagen group of "Aldrig mere Krig" (Danish section of the War Resisters' International). The second meeting which drew the 10,000 on the Monday evening was organised jointly by the War Resisters, the concrete workers' union, and a radical student organisation.

Headline for parade protester

CONGRATULATIONS to Ranier Sachs of Syracuse University (New York).

With 150 spectators gathered to watch a parade of the Officers Training Corps in the main Quadrangle, she paraded back and forth in front of the reviewing stand, "as a protest against militarism and the training of college boys to become killers."

A graduate instructor in anthropology, she said that she was "frightened," but felt that "at every military parade there ought to be at least one person protesting."

"That's why I was there," she told the University's daily newspaper, which splashed a big front-page headline: "Pacifist protests SU Militarism by picketing at ROTC review. Mrs. Sachs: Boys play, men use real guns."

Asked why she continued her protest during the playing of the National Anthem, she replied:

"Nationalism or chauvinism is the stuff of which militarism arises. Love of country should be subordinate to love of humanity—love of country is not a good enough reason for killing people. People today have seriously to consider at which point killing is important."

Congratulations too to Vice-Chancellor Finla G. Crawford. His comment: "Since this is America, Mrs. Sachs, and anyone else has the right to their opinions, and their protest."

THE EDITOR.

CLASSIFIED

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As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street), nature of event, speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, June 6
BRIGHTON: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Meeting House, Ship St. "Radiation Hazards—Your Health in the Nuclear Age." Brighton CND.

LONDON, E.C.1: 8 p.m.: Priory Church of St. Bartholomew-the-Great, West Smithfield (St. Paul's Und. Sta.). A Programme of Music by the London International Choir. Conductor: Paul Steinitz; Soloists: Frank Merrick—pianoforte and Frederick Woodhouse—singer. Programmes (3s.) from George Sabapathy, 14/15 Kendal St., W.2, or at the Church on June 6.

LONDON, N.13: 8 p.m.: Bowes Park Methodist Church. "The Challenge of Nuclear War to the Church." Rev. D. Holt Roberts, MA (St. George's Presbyterian Church, Palmers Green). Methodist Peace Fellowship.

LONDON, S.W.6: 6.45 p.m.: King's Weigh House Church Hall, Binney St. Annual Meeting of the London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Speaker: The Rev. Mark Shirley.

LONDON, S.W.6: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Fulham Town Hall (opp. Fulham Broadway station). London Local Tribunal for COs. Public admitted.

PORTSMOUTH: 7.30 p.m. Wesley Central Hall, Fratton Road. Public Meeting "Do You Want the H-bomb?" Mervyn Jones, Rev. Michael Scott, Prof. A. J. P. Taylor, Chair: John R. Sturges. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

SOUTHEAST-ON-SEA: 8 p.m.: Arlington Hall, London Rd., Westcliff. Public protest meeting against nuclear weapons. Tickets 6d. Southend West Labour and Co-operative Parties Joint Action Committee. Sec.: Mr. S. Carr, 25 Crawley Rd., Westcliff-on-Sea.

UPMINSTER: 8 p.m.: St. Mary's Lane School (near The Bell). Discussion on Nuclear Disarmament. Alec Beckman, Hornchurch Way to Peace Group.

Saturday, June 7
ASHFORD, Kent: 3.30 p.m.: Friends' House, Albert Rd. S.E. Area Meeting. Sybil Morrison. Bring and Buy Stall. Tea provided; please bring own food to pool. PPU.

ASHFORD, Kent: 6.30 p.m.: Friends' House, Albert Rd. Open Forum. Panel: Minnie Pallister, J. Suter, MA. PPU.

LEEDS: 3 p.m.: Friends Meeting House (behind Broadcasting House), Woodhouse Lane. Half-Yearly Meeting. N.E. Reg. Board for COs.

SOUTHPORT: 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.: Victoria Hall. Fellowship of Reconciliation, one-day conference. Fred Moorhouse and others. Details from Wm. Harrison, "Ingledene," Much Hoole, Preston, Lancs.

Sunday, June 8
CHELMSFORD: 6.30 p.m.: Friends Meeting House, Kainford Rd. "War and Christianity Today." Francis Jude. SoF.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m.: Tudor Room, Shaftesbury Hotel, Monmouth St. Tenth Lecture in "Non-Violence and Social Change" series: "What of the Future?" Gene Sharp, MA. Free admission; collection. The 1957 Committee.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m.: Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., Euston. Pacifist Universalist Service. Rev. G. E. Neely, "The City Set on a Hill." PPU Religion Commission.

Monday, June 9
LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. and 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge House, Ebury Bridge Rd., S.W.1. London Appellate Tribunal for COs. Public admitted.

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Meeting House, Ordnance Rd. Discussion on "Pacifists and UN." Opener: Percy Pitman. PPU.

Wednesday, June 11
YEovil: 3 p.m.: Hendford Manor Hall. Public Meeting. "Tomorrow's Children and the H-bomb." Speakers: Sybil Morrison, Rosemary Thompson and Monica Hutchings. For in support of CND.

YEovil: 7.30 p.m.: Hendford Manor Hall. Open Meeting. Speaker: Sybil Morrison. For.

Thursday, June 12
BRIDGWATER: 7.30 p.m.: King St. Co-operative Hall. Sybil Morrison. "Why I am a Pacifist."

BUDDERSFIELD: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall. Public Meeting. Canon L. J. Collins. Ritchie Calder. Chair: Prof. S. F. Toulmin. Admission 6d. CND.

LONDON, E.8: 8 p.m.: Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd., Leytonstone (near Green Man). Jack Batty. "Atomic Adventure." E.10 and E.11 PPU Group.

Friday, June 13
LONDON, E.17: 8 p.m.: Friends Hall, Greenleaf Rd., Walthamstow. Walthamstow Peace Council AGM and public meeting. Speaker: Rev. R. Waters, "The Road to Peace."

LEICESTER: Saturday, June 14
Family Service Unit. Sec.: J. Lynes, 101 Lonsdale Rd., Thurston, Leicester. IVS.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6 p.m.: Nancy Rouse, 47 Wilby Ct., Woburn Pl. PPU Central London Group and Political Consequences of Disarmament. Refreshments.

Saturday, June 21
NEEDHAM MARKET: 3 p.m.: Glenview, Barkindale Rd., Garden Meeting. Report of PPU AGM and For Council Meeting. Rev. H. N. Horne. Mrs. Lesley Lewis, Roland Walker, PPU and For.

Every week!

SUNDAYS

LONDON: 3 p.m.: Hyde Park, Speakers' Corner. Pacifist Forum.

LONDON: Clapham Common 3 p.m. Christian Pacifist Open-Air Meeting. The Brotherhood of the Way.

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.: Queens Pk. Gate, top of Victoria Rd. Open Air Meeting.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS
LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate Bldg. SMC. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist members and others. MPP.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Road, E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.: Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Disarmament. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

FRIDAYS

BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Selling.



The Minister said 'yes'

THERE is an interesting background story to the 10,000 - strong demonstration against nuclear weapons in Copenhagen last month (Peace News, May 23).

The 500 posters for the demonstration were produced by the artists, architects and painters among the conscientious objectors doing their alternative service in the labour camp for COs at Gribkov.

The posters attracted much attention on the part of the Press, and it was not long before one newspaper called up the Commandant at the camp to ask whether it was legal for the COs to draw the posters inside the camp.

The Commandant asked for a ruling from the Minister of the Interior.

The decision: The COs are permitted to make the posters in their spare time—and to take part in demonstrations.

Coffin outside the Town Hall

THE Gribkov COs did not stop at poster designing. Hagbard Jonassen of the Danish War Resisters' International tells me.

Four of them "dressed in rockets" paraded with a big black coffin with the word "Humanity" painted on it in white.

After walking through the city they put the coffin down in front of the rostrum erected for the mass meeting outside the Town Hall.

There were two meetings held as counters



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WHO VOTES FOR DEATH?

REMEMBER SIR RICHARD ACLAND?

Labour MP for Gravesend, he resigned over the Bomb.

That was 1955, and before he could stand as Independent at the by-election, a General Election was announced. He would have made the Bomb the big issue, but in the General Election the Parties decided the issues.

So he lost—heavily. Many former supporters deserted him. Did they disagree with Sir Richard on the Bomb? Not necessarily. Probably many more than his 6,000 voters agreed—they didn't want to become extermination brutes. They wanted to SAVE life.

Today a great many more would agree with him. So would he be returned to Parliament today? Again, not necessarily.

Why isn't it a cert? What can we do about it?

Sir Richard was not defeated by the Bomb—but by his former Party. The Labour Party rejected him, and was determined that he should not be returned.

No platitudes

Former supporters respected him, but loyalty to the Party came first. Here was a man who had broken rank. What about the other things in the Labour programme, they argued. So they voted for the Labour man who followed the old line on making the Bomb.

Now, loyalty's a good thing. Nor can a government live on one issue.

But today it's different: the new factor of the H-bomb isolates itself. Not all the other issues put together are so important. The future of mankind comes first.

This was the message of the Aldermaston

marchers. And the thousands whose hearts went with them.

So the number one issue at the General Election must be the H-bomb. That will be the testing time for all who've welcomed the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

And they must MAKE the Bomb THE issue—no one else will.

Conservative and Labour agree to carry on making the Bomb. The Liberals want Uncle Sam's bombs. So all these Parties will try to keep the Bomb out of the picture. Just you see.

We'll hear platitudes and fine talk about peace. Other issues, and the wickedness of other Parties, will be presented for our attention.

They'll offer nice sounding "peace programmes"—to divert attention from the mini-

By "Compass"

mum acceptable terms: renounce manufacture, testing and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, and refuse to allow any country to use British soil for nuclear death policies.

The H-bomb threat demands loyalty to the whole human race before loyalty to Party.

And the way to make nuclear death THE election issue is to make it the single issue for which we USE our votes. We must decide now to do this. And unless there's a big change in the candidates, the right use for most of these votes will be—withholding them!

It would be good if every Aldermaston veteran, every Campaigner, everyone who believes Britain should stand for decency and sanity, would write

now to their MPs and to any candidates already named in their constituency.

Tell the candidates: no vote, except for the man who clearly promises that in Parliament he will speak AND VOTE AGAINST anything to do with nuclear weapons. If no one makes the promise, no one gets the votes! They must be withheld.

Watch out—politicians are clever at trying to please everyone, and some statements can mean anything. They must be pinned down so that there's no possible doubt. No ambiguity. No loopholes.

No nuclear hell

The key test is: will they vote against the Bomb in a division in the Commons? Abstaining isn't good enough—it really means half a vote for and half against. Which is half-hearted support.

What about a candidate who promises that, despite Party or Government pressure, he'll VOTE against nuclear weapons, against the Service estimates for nuclear preparations, and against any other possible opportunity?

That man deserves the thousands of votes of Campaign supporters.

Remember: no promise, no votes.

And if there's no promise, we'll act. Don't just stay away on polling day. Write on the ballot paper: "No nuclear hell." And how about putting that nuclear disarmament semaphore symbol on too.

This is not only a refusal to support criminal policies of preparation for mass murder. It is votes for peace, for life. It is votes that radiation illnesses and nuclear death should not plague this and future generations.

It is votes for children.

By Sybil Morrison

THE WILL TO WAR

I cannot understand you pacifists with your "total disarmament" slogan. Even if the whole world agreed to total disarmament it would only need some dispute, some obstinate refusal to budge, to make Governments concerned start once again to build up their armaments. Men know now how to make every kind of weapon, and it is clear that total disarmament is, therefore, no answer at all to the threat of war.

—Letter from "Anonymous," May 17, 1958.

be set in instant motion to re-arm. Until the will to war is changed to a will to peace, this will always be possible.

Pacifism does not assume that total disarmament is in itself an objective from which renunciation of war will spring; on the contrary, the reverse is certain; there can be no security even in total disarmament until war has itself been renounced as the evil that it is.

It may be argued that this is a long-term solution for which the world cannot afford to wait. Nevertheless, short cuts are by no means necessarily the quickest way to an objective, since they all too often lead into a morass from which there is no way forward.

The fact is that the basic difficulty of

persuading a Government to abandon certain weapons unless they are convinced that it is expedient to do so, remains quite as much of an obstacle as persuading them to renounce war.

It might, indeed almost certainly would, take quite as long to convert them to pacifism as to induce them, without such a conviction, to give up weapons they consider to be effective.

For centuries men have been fighting wars and believing it is right to do so; for half a century efforts have been made to agree to the abolition of this weapon, or that weapon. The reason for continued failure is the habit of reliance upon the method of war, and the conviction that there is no security against an enemy un-

less there are arms ready for use in the last resort.

So long as that conviction remains, so long as military commanders and statesmen alike are convinced of the effectiveness of arms as a possible deterrent or a means towards victory, and see nothing immoral in their use, there is no possibility of disarmament.

Obviously the will to war must be attacked at its source if the will to peace is to be made effective. Abandonment of armaments for reasons of expediency only is plainly not enough, since, as my correspondent so cogently points out, at the first real provocation they can once again be built up.

If, however, abolition of arms was the result of a profound conscientious objection to the use of war as an instrument for any purpose whatever, such a foundation would remain unshaken by events.

It is impossible to talk peace surrounded by an arsenal; there is nothing to-day that could not be peacefully negotiated if there was the will to do so; it is that will, if pursued with personal faith and concentrated energy, which must and can eventually prevail over the will to war.

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